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THE PROBLEM OF CIVILIZATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY¹

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Our subject, the problem of civilization in the twentieth century, falls naturally into two parts: (1) what the problem is and (2) a proposed solution of it. The nature of the problem can perhaps best be indicated by showing how it arose. Hence, the first part of the discussion will be chiefly historical and the second sociological.

I. HOW THE PROBLEM AROSE.—According to Heraclitus of old, the world moves by opposites; the law of contradiction is a law of the universe. And many writers of history assert that human progress does not proceed in the path of a straight line, but rather in cycles, or with a to-and-fro movement like the swings of a pendulum. Thus, some 2,500 years ago, after the Old, the Middle, and the New Empires of Egypt, each lasting for about a thousand years, had passed away, the world was roused by a new twofold force—the genius of the Greek and the power of the Roman. The Greek-Roman day lasted for about a thousand years also. Then the world went to sleep for another thousand years; the spirit of progress, like the apocalyptic dragon, seemed to be bound in the bottomless pit. But when the required number of days were fulfilled, some five hundred years ago, the world awoke again, perhaps to fall into another slumber five hundred years from now.

It is with the present period, the last four or five hundred years of the Christian era, that we are here concerned. It, like many other periods, contains two fundamental, and also opposite, movements or tendencies. And these tendencies explain the problem of civilization—or at least one of the most important problems of civilization—in the twentieth century.

¹ A paper read before the Scientific Society of the University of Missouri.

In the life of nations, as of individuals, there are crises or turning-points fraught with momentous consequences for the future. Such a period, for the life of mankind, was the Renaissance. The Renaissance marks the transition from the mediaeval to the modern world. Nearly five hundred years ago a new spirit was born into the world—the spirit of individuality or of liberty. It is strikingly typified by Michael Angelo in his grandest and most celebrated piece of sculpture, the statue of Moses. Michael Angelo's Moses was not modeled after the imperishable creations of the beauty-loving Greeks. It was made to personify the spirit of the new time. The Greek statue was the embodiment of culture and health-giving exercise. But Michael Angelo's Moses is the personification of will; with muscles tense, standing out in cords and bunches, it typifies the strenuous life. The soul of humanity, which had slumbered quietly through the long night of the Middle Ages, had awaked. The love of liberty had revived. And this irrepressible spirit of individuality, immortalized by the great sculptor, manifested itself at once along all lines of civilization. A few instances will suffice to illustrate:

1. *Religion*.—John Huss and Jerome of Prague, Luther and Calvin, Knox and Cranmer, led the revolt against the rule of authority that, in spiritual affairs, had long dominated the Christian world. The Protestant Reformation secured freedom of conscience and proclaimed personal responsibility, as these doctrines had never been realized or appreciated before.

2. *Science*.—The free spirit of man expressed itself in the inventions of the mariner's compass, gun-powder, and printing—the three wonder-working instruments, respectively, of discovery, of conquest, and of enlightenment. It was now that the earth was first discovered—not only the new continents and the islands of the seas, but also its position in the solar system. It was now that the earth was first subdued—not only the wild beasts of the field, but also the unprogressive classes of men. And it was now that the earth was first illumined by that knowledge which is power and that light which is life.

3. *Politics*.—The wars of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were manifestations of this spirit of individ-

uality; efforts to obtain a larger degree of liberty—religious, civil, and political. And the movement culminated in the American Revolutionary War and the Declaration of Independence, in the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and in the substitution of the several forms of self-government—local, state, and national—for government by kings or nobles.

4. *Industry*.—In industrial and social life the spirit of the Renaissance overthrew feudalism, abolished slavery, and is gradually effecting the emancipation of woman. It favored freedom of initiative on the part of the individual, and encouraged people to follow the calling they preferred and to go to any part of the world that they pleased.

Now, it may be asked, what is the logical result of this tendency? In one word, it is anarchy. To illustrate again:

1. *Religion*.—The individualism that inspired the Protestant Reformation soon led to the splitting-up of religious bodies into sects, factions, and parties; also to the criticism of creeds and to the doubt of dogmas. Suffice it to mention, in this connection, the writings of the Encyclopaedists, the *Dialogues on Natural Religion*, the *Age of Reason*, and the *Critique of Pure Reason*. Thus Kant, in the preface to his great work, wrote:

Our age is in every sense of the word the age of criticism, and everything must submit to it. Religion on the strength of its sacredness, and law on the strength of its majesty, endeavor to withdraw themselves from it. But by so doing they arouse just suspicion, and cannot claim that sincere respect which reason pays to those only who have been able to stand its free and open examination.

2. *Science*.—The individualism of the Renaissance manifested itself, not in the true scientific investigation, but also in the rise of many pseudo-sciences, and in the wrangles and contentions of scientists and pseudo-scientists. The controversies of Newton and Leibnitz, of Arnould and Malebranche, and of Jesuit and Jansenist are only a few among many instances.

3. *Politics*.—It is in the sphere of political life, perhaps, that the individualistic tendency was most apparent. It reached its climax toward the close of the eighteenth century, in the partition of Poland, in the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire, in

the French Revoution, in the American Revolutionary War, and in the threatened dissolution of the American union.

4. *Industry*.—In industrial life the spirit of individuality expressed its anarchistic tendency in cut throat competition and in the *laissez-faire* doctrine of the Manchester school.

But, although anarchy is the logical result of the Renaissance movement, it does not necessarily follow that such would be the actual result. The logical result of the leading tendency of a civilization is one thing; the actual result of that tendency, when modified by other, though subordinate, forces, may be quite another thing. Such it was in the present case. The actual result of three centuries of striving for liberty was the age of invention, or the era of industrialism of the nineteenth century.

The age of invention or industry is characterized by the substitution of mechanical power for muscle power to do the world's work. Civilization has passed through three stages in this respect. In the first, the work of the world was performed by the muscles of men and women. In the second, the muscles of animals were used along with those of men and women. And in the third, mechanical power was largely substituted for muscle power. It has been calculated that, at the present time, there are three mechanical slaves in the service of each individual, on the average, of the population of America, Great Britain, France, and Germany.²

And as the nineteenth century was the age of invention and of industrial development, its fundamental social characteristic, or most prominent general tendency, was union and organization. Before the pendulum of progress had swung over to anarchy, it slowed, stopped, and then began to swing in the opposite direction. This also was a natural result; for force is never so effective as when it is most highly organized. And the two conditions making organization possible—viz., scientific knowledge enabling people to foresee the end and direct the means, and mechanical inventions enabling many individuals to work together—were made available by the individualism of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. A few instances will serve to illus-

² Cf. Strong, *The Twentieth Century City*, p. 18.

trate, along different lines of civilization, the spirit of union and organization, as it was manifested in the last century.

1. *Religion*.—In the drawing closer together of different sects and denominations, in the religious congresses, in the non-sectarian churches, in the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and in other Christian, but non-sectarian, institutions was strongly manifested the tendency toward union.

2. *Science*.—The scientific world became noted for its meetings, associations, and congresses—local, state, national, and international. If an important discovery was made in any part of the world, it immediately became common property. And the investigation of many natural phenomena was conducted by international co-operation.

3. *Politics*.—The spirit of individuality which triumphed in the French Revolution and the American Revolutionary War soon spent its force in the following century. In Europe a new German Empire arose, with the unification of the German people; and a new Italy appeared, with the unification of the Italian people. In America the Civil War resulted in a stronger union of the United States. The heterogeneous provinces of British America were united in a single federation, the Dominion of Canada. Similarly, only recently was formed the Commonwealth of Australia. South Africa is moving in the same direction. Imperial federation is in the air. And some writers advocate not only a union of the English-speaking peoples, but the establishment of an international parliament for the world.

4. *Industry*.—Lastly, in industrial life there arose union or organization everywhere. The organization of capital was accompanied by the organization of labor. Besides department and co-operative stores, there appeared profit-sharing associations, joint-stock companies, and trusts—of state, national, and international importance.

Thus in short, the *Zeitgeist* throughout all the past century was steadily making for closer union and higher organization.

Now, it may be asked, what is the logical result of this tendency? In one word, again, it is socialism. In religion, science, politics, industry, and many other factors of civilization the

streams of tendency are setting strongly in a socialistic direction. Will this be the actual result? Probably not, though no one knows. One thing, however, seems evident, viz., that the best result would be some intermediate movement between the extremes of individualism and socialism, as these terms are usually understood. The desideratum would seem to be the union of these two opposite and yet complementary forces in a form of society that would secure the largest amount of individual liberty, along with the highest degree of organized efficiency. And this is the problem of civilization in the twentieth century. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries asserted, and in large measure secured, the rights of the individual; the nineteenth century asserted, and in large measure secured, the rights of society. Hence, the problem of the twentieth century is the harmonious blending of individualism and socialism, in such a manner that liberty will be ruled by law, and law suffused with liberty; that individuality will be regulated by union, and union animated by individuality; that personality will be guided by organization, and organization moved and inspired by personality and genius.

II. THE SOLUTION.—The solution proposed is the development in society, to the greatest extent possible, of the two somewhat opposite and yet complementary social forces, education and organization: education in order to secure for the individual the largest degree of development; organization in order to secure for the community the results of all individual progress. Neither force alone is sufficient. Each is necessary to modify and supplement the other. We will first examine briefly education.

I. *Education*.—Of education there are at present two prominent, but opposing, views. According to the one, education to the largest extent should be encouraged; according to the other, education within certain lines should be restricted. The former system may be called the American; the latter, the continental. In America, generally speaking, education along all lines is encouraged to the fullest extent. The largest education for the largest numbers is the guiding principle accepted. But it is easy to see that, if this policy be continued, after a time the profes-

sions and the higher walks of life will become overcrowded. Hitherto the varied opportunities of a new country, the rich rewards of productive industry, the extent of the field of activity, and the vastness of its resources have contributed to counteract the natural effects of the educational policy. Some of these causes, however, are only temporary; and others, gradually, will come to have a relatively less effect than formerly. It is but a question of time, therefore, when, in the natural course of events, an educated proletariat will appear.

What would be the general effect upon society, it may next be inquired, of an educated proletariat? According to the "divine harmonies" of certain economists, as the professions become crowded, the more efficient men, through natural competition, will drive out the less efficient; and, in this way, the standard of the professions, to the incalculable benefit of society, will be continually raised. That may be a pretty theory, but it is not a true one. The increase in the army of "middlemen," notwithstanding the continuous cheapening in the processes of production, keeps the selling-price of several commodities at many times the cost price. The men who enter the professions are too intelligent, and possess too large a degree of organizing ability, to allow free competition to act in the manner specified. Organization would naturally be resorted to, in order to secure larger profits for all. As professional men would receive less employment—and the more crowded the profession became, there would be the less work for each member to do—they would charge more for their services. Hence, as education increases, the professions will become overcrowded, and professional services will become more expensive. And, as education still further increases, the professions will become more overcrowded, and professional services will become still more expensive; and so on *ad infinitum*.

This is one general effect of the unlimited extension of education. There is yet another to be considered. As the professional classes increase relatively faster than population, people are withdrawn in larger numbers from the productive industries. Hence, not only does the cost of professional services tend to increase, but also that along practically all other lines. Then the

persons engaged in the industries have to produce for an ever-increasing class engaged in the professions, as well as for themselves. And this process goes on indefinitely. Thus it might seem that the last state of society, through the advance of education, would be worse than the first.

It is in order to avoid a state of things like that here described that some persons advocate what may be called the continental system of education, in preference to the American. The continental system may be represented by the German. It is aristocratic, rather than democratic. It makes elementary education free and universal, but makes higher education increasingly expensive as society progresses. And in America, at the present time, there are many strong tendencies making for the continental system; e. g., increase of tuition fees and other expenses connected with higher education, both liberal and professional.

Against the continental system, however, there are two insuperable objections: one on the ground of justice, the other on the ground of expediency. First, it organizes society into classes, which, to a large extent, are not based on natural ability, but on accidents of place or of birth. Consequently, it is unfair in principle. Secondly, it does not secure, except in part—often but in small part—the higher education of those members of society who would acquire it most easily, who would profit by it most largely, and who would make it contribute to the general welfare most fully. Hence, the system does not make for the largest progress or the greatest good of society as a whole.

We have now arrived at an antinomy, which may be stated as follows: (1) The largest education for the largest numbers—i. e., free education, in all departments, for all who can avail themselves of it—is the only educational policy that is consistent with justice and expediency. (2) The largest education for the largest numbers will naturally result in the overcrowding of the professions and the higher walks of life. If this process were continued, under the industrial conditions which now prevail, the burdens laid upon the producing classes would gradually become heavier, and finally intolerable. It would end practically in a caste system.

It is for the latter part of this antinomy that a solution must be sought. Two may be suggested: (1) government regulation, and (2) social organization. It is difficult to believe in the efficacy of the former. An attempt by government to regulate the fees charged by physicians, lawyers, engineers, and other professional men would not be likely to accomplish much practical good. On the other hand, organization, if intelligent and extensive, can perform wonders. It is along this line that mankind should achieve the grandest triumphs, and make the greatest progress in the twentieth century. Education to the largest extent for the largest numbers is a sound principle for human guidance, provided it is accompanied by a sufficient amount of social organization. But organization, although a leading feature of nineteenth-century civilization, is yet in its elementary stages. A discussion of this subject will finish our assigned task.

2. *Organization*.—Above all preceding centuries, the nineteenth will stand out forever as the historical century *par excellence*. As such, it was epoch-making in the life of mankind. It furnished a scientific method for the investigation of all social phenomena. Consequently, in the present century unprecedented social progress may reasonably be expected. It is universally recognized that, as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were noted for progress in mathematics and astronomy, and the nineteenth century for progress in the physical and biological sciences, the twentieth will be noted for progress in the social sciences. Sociology is the coming study. And just as sociology, grounded on the inductions of the physical and biological sciences, and guided by the historical method, becomes the characteristic science of the twentieth century, so new and higher forms of social organization will inevitably characterize the twentieth-century life of the human race.

As a society or community grows, it differentiates. New wants then arise, and new forms of activity emerge to enable the society to satisfy these wants. As distinct groups of persons engage in the different forms of activity, these forms of activity become specialized, and the groups of persons engaged in them constitute the organs of the society; e. g., government, the pro-

fessions, transportation, and the various branches of industry. Each organ, under normal conditions, tends, like the organism itself, to pass through two distinct stages of development; one biological and impulsive, the other sociological and rational. The biological stage is strongly marked by individualism; the sociological, by co-operation. In the transition from the former to the latter the state of anarchy is gradually transformed to the reign of law.

This does not necessarily mean, of course, that under the reign of law either competition is eliminated or progress ceases. It only implies that human activities are rationalized. The genius and inventive impulse of all the individuals are capitalized, and then directed by reason for the welfare of the whole community.

At the present time the different organs of society differ greatly in their degree of development. Some are yet at the beginning of the chaotic stage; some are approaching the reign of law; a very few, in certain countries, are almost rationalized, such as government, education, and one or two forms of industry. In the twentieth century, however, the rational element in the various social organs may be expected to make more progress than in the nineteen centuries preceding. A few instances will now be given, illustrative of what may be accomplished in this direction, first in professional, and then in industrial life.

(1) *The professions.* a) *Medicine.*—The practice of medicine is yet in the biological or impulsive stage of its development. It is organized on an irrational and unnatural basis. For their success and welfare physicians are dependent on the misfortunes of the other members of the community. The greater the amount of sickness among the people, other things being equal, the greater is the prosperity of the physicians. Physicians are paid for curing persons who are sick, or for helping them to depart in peace when they are incurable. And the invalid or his family, those members of society least able to bear additional burdens, are the ones who are required to pay the doctor's bills. Untold suffering exists now, and numberless untimely deaths occur, because many persons, on account of the expense involved, do not call in a reputable physician, or do not consult one until too late. It ought

to be the business of the medical profession to keep the people well, to prevent them from becoming sick, rather than to cure them after they have fallen sick. But if physicians should act according to this principle, in so far as they would succeed, they would cut off their own means of support. Hence, as physicians are dependent now for their living on the sickness and misfortunes of the other members of the community, it cannot reasonably be expected that the body politic will be in good physical or mental condition. A radical change is needed in the organization of the medical profession—a change in the twentieth century analogous to that which took place in the teaching profession in the nineteenth century. The time is coming when a reliable physician will be appointed, on a good salary, in each district or village, two or three in each town, and a superintendent and his staff in every city. They will be retained in their positions as long as they give satisfactory service. And their expenses will be met by a general tax. This change does not imply, of course, that all physicians who do not get appointments will be driven out of practice. Nor does it necessarily mean that all the best physicians will accept public appointments. Just as in the sphere of education there is still a place—a subordinate, though perhaps an essential, place—left for private schools, so in the field of medicine there will always be a place left for independent physicians. But these will be efficient men. Inefficient men will be obliged to withdraw from the profession.

Another important consideration is that a fraction of the number of physicians now employed, if their work were properly organized, would suffice to perform it. Hence, as fewer physicians would be needed than now, the requirements for admission to the profession could be largely increased. The final outcome would be that all physicians would be first-class men, enthusiastic in their work; and the people would be kept in good health, because patients would get good attendance at the proper time.

In this manner the two fundamental desiderata of the practice of medicine would be secured, viz., a first-class service, and this at a reasonable cost. Under present conditions either of these advantages can be obtained, but only by the sacrifice of the

other. First-class medical service is within the reach of only the wealthy few. As a result, the great mass of the people have to resort to the quack and the patent medicines. In an intelligent community the quack and the patent-medicine man would be left without patrons, unless in so far as they might experiment upon each other for their mutual good—or for their mutual evil, as the case might be.

It is scarcely to be expected, perhaps, that this reform in the practice of medicine will be completely effected in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, a change somewhat analogous will be brought about, if our civilization continues to progress. In fact, a good beginning has already been made, in the appointment of sanitary and meat inspectors, the establishment of public hospitals and clinics, and the organization of protective associations.

b) Law.—The organization of the legal profession is almost as irrational as that of the medical. In our day much of the best legal talent is consumed endeavoring to discover exceptions and loopholes in order to render the law of no effect; in other words, lawyers do all that they possibly can to make the way of the transgressor easy. On the other hand, it is here contended that the business of the legal profession should be to cause the law to prevail, and to make the administration of justice a terror to evil-doers. The way of the transgressor ought to be made hard. Furthermore, in our day it is a primary object of many lawyers to foster legal proceedings; for the more lawsuits there are, the more work, and consequently the more pay, there is for the lawyers. On the contrary, it is here contended that a primary aim of the legal profession ought to be to lessen the number of lawsuits; for it is to the advantage of society to have as few disputes as possible, and of these to have as many as possible satisfactorily settled out of court. But if this mode of procedure were universally adopted, many lawyers would have to withdraw from the profession. Their retirement, no matter how it should affect them, would be a great gain to society. For the total interests of the public at large are much more important than the particular interests of any special class. The public must find a remedy for the evil of excessive judicial proceedings. That remedy will be

some form of co-operative organization. The people of a district, or the members of a school or of a fraternal association, will select a reliable and competent firm of lawyers to which they will intrust all their legal business that involves persons outside the district or school, and such legal business as they deem expedient that involves only themselves. The results of such action would be threefold: (1) Inefficient lawyers would find no rest for the sole of their foot within the profession, and pettifoggery would practically disappear. (2) Efficient lawyers would become protectors of the right, and, to some extent, conciliators and arbitrators. (3) As far fewer lawyers would be needed than now, the requirements for admission to the profession could be greatly increased.

A beginning in this work also has already been made. Trusts, corporations, and labor and other organizations have their legal representatives to attend to whatever business may be demanded of them. This is only the beginning, however. Nevertheless, it is auspicious. It opens up an unexplored and unlimited field for future development. Society may confidently look forward to a time when every district will have a reliable government lawyer whose chief business will be to give legal advice, free of charge, to anyone desiring it.

c) Theology.—In the sphere of religion the organizing tendency has recently become prominent. This is shown in the union of certain denominations for more effective religious work, and in the closer association of all denominations for more effective philanthropic work. It is, indeed, high time for the clergy to make an effort to regain their lost prestige. The clergy were once the most cultured class in society, and, consequently, the natural leaders of thought. But they have long since fallen from grace. They are now but imitators, and imitators, as Plato would say, who are twice or thrice removed. They are still a conservative force in the community, but have ceased to be a progressive force. Their mantle has fallen upon the scientist, the educator, and the journalist. These are but poor Elishas, however; they do not speak as "the man of God." The clergy ought to reassert their rights. And when they speak again with author-

ity—the authority of inspiration and truth, rather than that of legend or tradition—the people will be only too eager to hear them. The present movement for greater union is the promise of a new and brighter day in this regard.

d) *Journalism*.—One other instance from professional life may be mentioned. Journalism is a modern profession, and it is only just emerging from the biological stage of development. Journalism was never made; it grew—not according to nature, but by chance; and, in consequence, malformation has ever been one of its predominant characteristics. Of late it is thought by some that the journalist, like other professional men, should receive a scientific preparation for his life-work, and no longer be obliged to proceed according to the rule of thumb. It is proposed to establish departments of journalism in some of the larger universities. But everyone knows that journalism cannot be satisfactorily taught by means of theory alone. Every department of journalism should edit a daily paper; for the journalist, like the scientist, requires to have his laboratory and testing apparatus always at hand.

Now it is worthy of note that, at the present time, one of the most vital needs of society—perhaps, everything considered, the most vital of all—is a reliable and independent press—one that would print the truth without exaggeration, one that would be independent of politics and of capitalism, and one that would constantly remain in close touch with the hearts of the people. Probably the best and most practical way of securing a public press that would meet most fully these requirements would be to establish a department of journalism, with a daily paper, at every state university. This paper would be sent free to every school and library within the state, and sold to subscribers at the regular subscription rate. Such a paper, distributed over the land, would do more for true enlightenment and social guidance than all the Carnegie libraries together. This, without doubt, should be one of the early measures of the twentieth century.

(2) *Industry*.—Leaving the consideration of the professions, we turn for a moment to trade and industry. One or two instances, for lack of space, must here suffice. Moreover, owing to

the recent progress of co-operative organization in profit-sharing, and in bringing street railways and water and light plants under municipal ownership, a detailed treatment is not necessary. We select, first, an instance that is general.

a) *Organization of labor*.—It has often been said that all honest work is alike honorable and sacred. That may be true, but all honest work is not alike respected. To make some forms of honest work respectable, these three things are necessary: (1) specialization, (2) proper hours of labor, and (3) sufficient remuneration. The most effective means of securing these requisites is by intelligent organization. Every man and every woman, in the industrial age in which we live, should be trained up to some special calling—i. e., should be given a profession or a trade. In this manner all work would become specialized, and all workers organized.

With the advance of the physical sciences in the last century, the processes of production and distribution were, in large measure, systematized and specialized. With the advance of the social sciences, in the present century, the processes pertaining to consumption—e. g., personal and household services—in like manner will become systematized and specialized. Baking and laundering have been removed from the home; cooking, heating, dusting, and many other household tasks will inevitably be disposed of likewise. When there is a dining-hall in every city block, supplying meals at private houses, or furnishing a table or a dining-room within the hall to every family that desires it, the cooking question will be solved. The work now done by hand, both out-of-doors and indoors, will more and more be done by the use of machinery. Unskilled workers will gradually be transformed to skilled workers. And ultimately the servant girl will disappear, along with the day-laborer.

Moreover, when distribution has been more thoroughly organized, and placed on a strictly economic basis, by means of department and co-operative stores; and when the supernumeraries of the professions have been eliminated and have returned to productive occupations, there will follow a great reduction in the daily hours of labor.

And, furthermore, to the increase of efficiency consequent on the lessened hours of employment, together with that arising from improved individual skill and more perfect organization, will be added a third increase of efficiency resulting from the more extensive use of mechanical inventions. Then will come the golden age of the working-man. As work becomes more and more efficient, it becomes more productive. As it becomes more productive, it is entitled to larger remuneration. As the workmen become better organized, and thus better able to secure the just reward of their labor, wages will increase. No doubt the time will come when some people will receive less than they receive now for doing what everyone wants to do, and when others will receive more than they receive now for doing what everyone wants not to do.

b) *Insurance*.—A more special instance is that of life insurance. The subject of life insurance is one that has recently attracted much attention, and still agitates the public mind. Congress alone can adequately deal with this question. Straight life policies and annuities should be distinguished from the various forms of investment policies. The former two classes of insurance should be a function of the federal government, managed by a commission of experts. In this manner much of the expenses of administration, and all the expenses of advertising and canvassing, would be saved to the policy-holders. A public notice, containing instructions and stating the primary facts about insurance, would be posted up in a conspicuous place in every post-office; and the teachers in the public schools would give, as part of the regular instruction, a few lessons each term on the nature and importance of the subject. The premium rates would then, perhaps, be about half what they are now. Only as much money would require to be paid in on premiums as would be paid out on disbursements; whereas according to the sixty-first annual report of the New York Life Insurance Company, the total income of that company for 1905 was \$103,630,864, and the total disbursements were \$59,326,713; or, more specifically, the total income from premiums was \$83,812,518, and the total disbursements to policy-holders were \$40,391,432. Under the

proposed scheme, practically every man, as he ought, would take out an insurance policy. Then every man, in a new sense, would become his brother's keeper—his brother's health being a particular object of his regard. A solution of this problem might be reasonably expected in the near future, if politicians did not so much persist in trying all the possible wrong ways of doing a thing before adopting the right way.

c) *Railroads*.—We select, in conclusion, the subject of railroads. Much has been said of late about certain prominent evils of railroad administration, but comparatively little has been said about the greatest evil of all. The system of rebates is a flagrant injustice; but it affects directly a comparatively small number of people. Excessive passenger rates are an evil of far greater magnitude. Less has been heard of this grievance because the persons most affected were those least able to obtain the public ear. In Germany, one can travel almost anywhere at the rate of half a cent per kilometer; and in India the railroads make "an average charge for each passenger of less than half a cent a mile."³ Now society, in many respects, is like an organism. And those organisms which are most mobile, other things being equal, are the ones which are most able to adjust themselves to changes in external conditions, and thus are most successful in the struggle for existence. The same holds true of those smaller organisms, the individuals, which are within the larger organism. In Germany, if a workman is out of employment, he can travel, for a few dollars, from one end of the empire to the other. In America, if a workman is out of employment, he has three choices—yea four, if he has money saved; he may deliver up his hard-earned cash to the railroads, or he may try to beat his way, or he may become a tramp, or he may remain where he is. No method can adequately deal with the tramp problem that does not include a solution of the passenger-traffic problem. And the tramp evil, only yet in its infancy, casting its shadow across the horoscope of the future, presents a spectacle truly appalling. Prudence, no less than humanity, demands an immediate solution of the passenger-traffic problem—a solution that will secure to the working-man

³ "Morley's Address on India," *Outlook*, August 25, 1906.

cheap transportation from those places where work is scarce to those where it is more plentiful. The Yankee is often put forward as a shining example of great resourcefulness; but in this respect, when compared with his German neighbor, he is like a barnacle attached to a rock by the seashore, which may luxuriate in great plenty when the tide is high, but must wait in want when the tide is low. The only immediate relief to the Yankee, in a period of depression, is the soup-kitchen, which to him is like a shower of rain or spray to the stranded barnacle. The German, on the other hand, having solved the transportation problem, is able to go in and out with the tide. True, the environment of the German may not be the best possible for his well-being, but, such as it is, he has learned how to make the most of it. And this is something which the American as yet has not seriously attempted.

Congress has recently been grappling with the railroad problem. But it is scarcely to be supposed that any measure which Congress will enact in the near future will secure the much-needed relief. What is imperatively demanded is a passenger rate for the working-classes, varying from half a cent per mile for short distances to one-fourth of a cent per mile for long distances. Nor is this plan utopian. It would only be necessary for the railroads to abolish free passes, to squeeze out the water that has been poured into railroad stock, and to make some commensurate return to the public for value received in money and land, in order to make the plan here suggested practicable. For passenger traffic would then increase many fold, at comparatively small additional cost. And everyone knows, except possibly railroad men, that it is not so much the rate of fare as the number of fares that makes a railroad pay. Cheap excursions have long been an object-lesson in this direction, though apparently one of little educational value. But ere long the social child will open its sleepy eyes, conscious of the light of an ever-brightening day; and, among the epoch-making changes that will then be brought to pass, cheap passenger transportation will be by no means the least significant, nor the least beneficial.

In opposition to the views here advanced it will doubtless be urged that the people are not sufficiently intelligent, and that the organizing faculty in human nature is not sufficiently strong, to enable these improvements to be realized within any reasonable time. In reply, it need only be said that within the last generation mankind has demonstrated a capacity for organization which until then was incredible. Yet the movement has scarcely well begun. For, as the latter half of the nineteenth century was characterized by progress in biology and psychology, the twentieth century will be characterized by progress in sociology and ethics. And just as the rise of sociology has been attended by a new era in social organization, so the continued progress of that science will inevitably be accompanied by increasing power of helpful co-operation. Two great tendencies are moving ceaselessly in this direction; one theoretical, the other practical; one science and education, the other invention and mastery of mechanisms for control of the forces of nature. Science and education, by conferring upon mankind an ever-widening outlook, are developing farther foresight and deeper insight; while the improved mechanical contrivances not only enable labor to be specialized and workmen to be organized, but also serve as the handmaid of the scientific imagination, by means of which new secrets of the universe are disclosed every day.

Moreover, through the advance of the agricultural and the veterinary sciences, the earth in the twentieth century will become many times more fruitful than it was in the nineteenth. Then the population of the globe may increase many fold. Transportation will be further cheapened and distribution further facilitated. New and higher forms of organization will ensue. A new heaven and a new earth will appear. Old things will pass away; all things will become new.

Furthermore, as the ends of the earth are drawn ever closer together, and different races and tongues mingle more freely with one another, everyone will feel, in a sense not realized hitherto, that nothing of humanity is foreign to one. The biological and irrational method of progress, by means of military and industrial warfare, will gradually give place to the sociological and

rational method, through helpful co-operation and sympathetic emulation. The principle of nationality, one of the two great political principles developed during the last century, will gradually become transmuted, and out of national independence will spring international interdependence. The other chief political principle of the last century, the principle of democracy, in Hegelian or in some other fashion, will develop along two opposite and yet complementary lines: centralization with regard to national affairs, and decentralization with regard to local affairs. And on these two principles will ultimately rest the universal government of the world-empire—the kingdom of heaven among men—which has been dreamed of by poets, foretold by prophets, and schematized by philosophers. Then the statesman, in the language of Plato, will be the spectator of all time and of all existence. Then the peace of justice will enable every man to realize his higher nature, to secure a fair field and a square deal. Then the war-drum will beat no longer, and the battle-flags will be furled “in the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.”